MOONSHOT: a Play by J. F. Powers

THE NATION

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Report on Civil Rights

FUMBLING on the NEW FRONTIER

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Project Washington

'SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE'

Steven V. Roberts

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LETTERS

Eugene, Ore.

Dear Sirs: The story of Eugene, Oregon, is heartening and exciting and I applaud its achievement in making peace a respectable and politically important goal. The Mayor's proclamation is stirring; I suggest that all your readers send it to President Kennedy, voicing their desire for such a statement to emanate from the White House itself.

Eugene's experience should also provide a useful and encouraging example to many other cities and communities. At least it would show that many people are still full of dignity and hope and that peace is not a slogan, but the only solution for all humanity.

Van Nuys, Calif. PHYLLIS WEISS

The Peace Movement

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on Charles D. Bolton's article ["What the Peace Movement Needs," Jan. 27]. It put into concrete form questions that have been troubling many of us in the peace movement. May I comment on his statement that the new peace workers are "concerned largely with registering their own protests . . . without, for the most part, addressing themselves to the organizational and tactical questions involved in influencing the thinking of the general public"? Protest is important but it must be integrated with persuasion. Working for peace has two aspects: the *outcry*, which includes marches, vigils, advertisements and picket lines; and the *follow through*, which includes meetings, conferences, study groups, letter-writing and other lobbying activities to develop a program of enlightened action. Both facets are vital to effective peace work.

Mr. Bolton also writes: "Yet it is doubtful whether political decision-makers can be swayed without concerted organizational persuasion, whether popular stereotypes about international affairs can be changed without publicly raising questions about the integrity and commitment to democracy of the power blocs promoting the ideology of the military state." But given the Leviathan state, is it not also doubtful whether political decision-makers can be swayed even *with* organizational persuasion? Dr. Robert M. Hutchins describes in an article in the *Saturday Review* (2/21/59) called "Is Democracy Possible?" the shock he suffered when he was told by his colleagues on the common defense project of the Fund for the Republic that "There was no way, particularly in view of the enormous technical problems of modern warfare and international relations, in which the citizens could actually participate in the decisions upon which their lives depended." I do not think that Dr. Hutchins accepted this as final truth. I do not wish to do so either. But I think the peace movement must take judicial notice of the Leviathan state. That means an altogether new approach. We must find new forms based upon careful analysis of the chinks in the armor. NANCY REEVES

Los Angeles, Calif.

Welcome to Mr. Kozloff

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your choice of Max Kozloff as art critic. In a field corrupted by commercialism, favoritism, obfuscation, know-nothingness and just plain silliness, Mr. Kozloff's clear, courageous voice, his perceptiveness and rationality, are indeed welcome.

Sebastopol, Calif. HASSEL SMITH

Double Twist

Dear Sirs: It was just as if The Big Bad Wolf accused Little Red Riding Hood of trying to eat him. Consolidated Edison is suing General Electric, Westinghouse, etc., for price-fixing. This is really a twist—more double-jointedness was required to arrive at it than anything the Peppermint Lounge possesses or that gives chiropractors nightmares.

New York City BEN WILDOFSKY

War Against Bigots

Dear Sirs: I strongly applaud David Cort for his article, "The War on UNICEF" [Jan. 27]. I could not help comparing the D.A.R., Mr. Timbers and the others named to those bigots referred to in the article by Leo Hamalian in the same issue.

In both cases, I feel that the ignorance of the people involved is tragic. I have had the opportunity to travel both here and abroad and have witnessed the fine work done by both UNICEF and CORE. Again my congratulations to both writers. JEFF LIVINGSTON

Jackson Heights, N.Y.

On One Wing

Dear Sirs: With regard to the foolish attempt to represent the A.D.A. as the left-wing equivalent of the Birch Society, should it not be emphasized that the United States is unique among democratic nations in not even possessing a left wing in politics — that is, if one ignores the insignificant, discredited Communist Party?

In most of Western Europe and in the British Commonwealth, the A.D.A. would figure as a moderate Center group — considerably to the Right, for example, of the Conservative Party in England today.

And is not this great imbalance in American politics a serious handicap in our relations with our democratic allies in the free world? GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

Dept. of History
University of Washington

Seattle, Wash.

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The Nation, Mar. 3, 1962. Vol. 194, No. 9

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1962 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1962
VOLUME 194, No. 9

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Perspective on Geneva

Despite an ambience of calculated uncertainty, the President has created the impression that when our negotiators return to Geneva next month they will raise two new standards by which the acceptability of a test-suspension agreement must be judged. The new tests are these: some safeguard against secret test preparations and some assurance that Red China will acquiesce in any suspension agreement. If the President injected these new proposals in the pre-conference discussions for bargaining purposes, then the wisdom of the action must be judged in purely tactical terms. If, however, they were advanced as prime, "non-negotiable" conditions, then the chances of securing a test suspension at Geneva have been measurably dimmed.

Any agreement that would attempt to impose safeguards against preparations for tests would of necessity be extremely intricate. It would almost certainly be rejected by the Soviets; indeed, there is good reason to believe that our own nuclear strategists would not want *our* hands to be tied in this manner. If we want to secure a rule against testing in the atmosphere, backed up by adequate safeguards, then that is what we should try to secure. But we are not likely to get—and we ourselves do not want— an agreement against preparations to test. Similarly, the injection of Red China's acquiescence as a *sine qua non* of any agreement would probably make an agreement impossible. It will be difficult enough to secure adherence of other non-nuclear powers to a test-suspension treaty, once it is negotiated.

For this country, then, to reject an agreement against atmospheric testing because it did not meet the President's two new tests—if, in fact, they are intended as tests—would lead to one of two conclusions: that we do not want an agreement against atmospheric testing; or that, in any case, we do not want it until after we have completed one more round of tests which would put us, it is assumed, approximately as far ahead of the Russians as we were when they resumed testing in September. As to the latter point, we should know by now that the Russians are not likely to negotiate a test-suspension agreement as long as any existing gap places them at a measurable disadvantage. At the moment, the gap, which presumably still favors us, may not be so great that it would preclude Soviet acceptance of an agreement *now*. But if we start testing, then the disastrous cycle will be repeated.

In brief, the maxims for our negotiators at Geneva should be: "first things first" and "one step at a time." It is now universally agreed that a rule against atmospheric testing would at best be no more than a first step in an effort to break the momentum of the arms race. Just as the arms race is driven by its own momentum, so "the peace race" is to some extent fueled by the energies which can be generated behind the idea of disarmament. And just whom do we want to encourage in the Soviet Union—those who favor testing without end or limitation or those who, like the generality of people here, would like to see some break imposed on the arms race? Soviet citizens can decipher the barometric readings on the peace-war indicator just as readily as we can.

The New Peace Movement

Each new episode in the unfolding "peace race"—the Eugene, Oregon, story on which we reported Feb. 10 and commented upon last week, as well as the student demonstrations which took place two weekends ago at Swarthmore and in Washington (see story p. 187) — makes it increasingly clear that we are witnessing not merely another chapter in the history of the American peace movement, but the birth of a new one. In the past, peace movements have been largely pacifist in motivation and have been sustained for the most part by the churches or by church-affiliated groups. The goal has been "PEACE" and the agitation has been evangelical in character. Pacifists are not predominant in the new movement and it owes almost nothing to the churches or to church-affiliated groups (note an exception for the Quakers). It is sparked by students, academicians, self-employed professionals, mothers and intellectuals of the non-organizational variety. Its

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objective is not "peace" but survival; what is sought is a mitigation of tensions, a diminution of cold-war threats and counter-threats: in brief, a less poisonous social environment.

The new movement is realistic; it assumes that the struggle to prevent nuclear war will be protracted and that no miracles or overnight breakthroughs are to be expected. An editorial in the off-campus *Iowa Defender* —published at Iowa City—puts it this way:

> Advocates for peace are no longer simply a group of religiously motivated discontents; though some still are pacifists in the literal sense, a great number, agreeing on the general goal of world peace, are willing to accept and to deal with the practical problem of power and conflict in a nuclear age. They are not, strictly speaking, just advocating peace, since everyone is "for peace." More precisely, what they are advocating is the exploration and evaluation of alternatives to nuclear war as an instrument of national policy.

It may well be, therefore, that we are witnessing a schism so profound that it might determine the politics of the sixties. Such terms as "liberal" and "conservative," no more than "radical" or "reactionary," designate poles which create the tensions in our politics. Increasingly, these tensions arise between those who want to push the arms race at the risk of nuclear war and those who would like to see the power and resources of the country geared to the peace race. Such a division, even if it produced no formal realignment of parties (most unlikely in any case), would nevertheless reinvest American politics with meaning and significance.

Automation and Disarmament

President Kennedy has expressed the view that taking care of workers displaced by machines will be the "major domestic challenge of the sixties." At a recent press conference, he predicted that we shall have to find 25,000 new jobs every *week*. But even that may be far too optimistic. As far as unemployment is concerned, automation may have a fellow traveler going in the same direction: disarmament. There are several reasons for thinking so. Some are contained in the pamphlet, *Economic Impacts of Disarmament,* recently issued as its first publication by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Another is the current "flameout" at the Republic Aviation plant on Long Island which, according to Governor Rockefeller, threatens the jobs of 13,000 workers initially and as many as 90,000 ultimately, and has the entire Congressional delegation of the state in a dither. If the phasing out of a single fighter-bomber can conceivably convert a prosperous manufacturing district into a distress area, what would even the beginnings of general and complete disarmament do?

The pamphlet is a report of a panel headed by Prof. Emile Benoit and does not necessarily reflect the views of the agency. The members of the study group feel that the fear of a sudden, severe depression as the result of disarmament is not well founded, but the sum of the other observations in the report is not at all reassuring. What we have experienced under the Kennedy Administration is a precipitate rise in arms spending—about 25 per cent in fiscal 1963 over 1962. The converse—a steady decline in arms spending—"may prove a significant drag on the economy and pose serious problems for policymakers." At least a tenth of total U.S. production of goods and services, and a tenth of the labor force, are engaged in the defense program. Aside from industries like aircraft and missiles, which are almost totally militarized, 60 per cent of employment in shipbuilding, 40 per cent in radio and communications equipment, depend on defense. The stock market is deeply involved: "The projected earnings of firms heavily engaged in the defense program have been very highly capitalized in the stock market, and the present level of their common stock value would appear to be quite vulnerable in the event of any major reduction in defense expenditures." And, of course, there is the multiplier effect, whereby a $5 billion yearly cutback "might well generate a total decline of aggregate demand of between $10 billion and $12 billion a year, if compensating policies are not brought into play."

That *if* is important. There is no sign that compensating policies are being formulated, or that anybody in the government really takes disarmament seriously. The report emphasizes that advance planning is essential: the field is hardly one for improvisation. Moreover, compensating measures, when they do get going, may collide with those effects of automation which have aroused Presidential anxiety. Automation is going on all the time and its periods of acceleration will not necessarily come at convenient junctures. Equally serious is the seldom noted fact that the advanced technologies of the defense industry are themselves accelerating automation, with every prospect of throwing us into a vicious spiral of increased automation as defense orders and profit margins drop.

The essential economics of the situation, the report suggests, "do not create the difficulties so much as do the institutional and attitudinal limitations of an essentially political character." The Long Island situation shows it only too clearly. The union has put on a letter-writing campaign to the President to save the 105D Thunderchief and their members' jobs. At the same time, in an apparent effort to curry public favor by sure-fire means, the local has threatened a strike at another Long Island plant, where parts are being manufactured for a Soviet newsprint factory. The local seems to think it can take over the functions of the Department of State and the Department of Defense.

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At the same time, since these operations afford scant hope of success, the local and Republic Aviation are pressuring Defense to give them subcontracts on the F-110 fighter bomber, on which the McDonnell Aircraft Company of St. Louis is the prime contractor. Everyone is knee-deep in propaganda and politics. It is not a very good start for coping with "the major domestic challenge of the sixties."

The Pay Envelope

The combined pay and allowances of Lieut. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr. total $1,149.68 a month. The corresponding figure for Capt. (or Mr.) Francis Gary Powers is $2,500.00 a month. It depends on whom you work for.

The Insects Shall Inherit the Earth

Dr. H. Bentley Glass is professor of biology at Johns Hopkins University and a member of the Advisory Commission on Biology and Medicine of the Atomic Energy Commission. Novelists, journalists and unaffiliated thinkers may be dismissed as mere alarmists when they talk about a nuclear war destroying civilization, but not Dr. Glass. Speaking to a Smith College audience recently, Dr. Glass made some observations which should appall the pre-emptive war planners, if for once they would descend from game theory to the plane of facts.

The United States, said Dr. Glass, would be reduced at best to a "tenth-rate power, incapable of industrial rehabilitation," in the event of nuclear war. Nothing could save it, even if shelters effective against blast, heat and radiation had been provided for the entire human population — unless shelters were also provided for the animal population and for plants. *Homo sapiens* may be the lord of the earth, but he shares his domain with other living creatures and will never know how dependent he is on his biological environment until he has succeeded in destroying it.

In the absence of fallout shelters for animals, Dr. Glass points out, all wild and domestic animals in the combatant countries would be exposed to lethal doses of radiation. Not only would the meat and milk supply go with the cattle, but an even greater disaster would be the destruction of the birds. Without birds to feed on them, the insects would multiply catastrophically. The insects, not man or other proud species, are really the ones fitted for survival in the nuclear age. They — and bacteria — are enormously radiation-resistant. Let a man absorb 600 roentgens and he perishes soon and miserably, but a hundred thousand roentgens may not discomfort an insect in the least. The cockroach, a venerable and hardy species, will take over the habitations of the foolish humans, and compete only with other insects and bacteria.

The ecological balance will be further upset by the extermination of plant life. But by far the greater part of the lumber supply in the United States comes from conifers, such as fir and pine, and these evergreens are killed by amazingly small doses of radiation — five roentgens will kill one, Dr. Glass says. So all the coniferous forests must be written off, with resulting flooding and erosion of unprecedented proportions. Arable soil will be contaminated by fallout, seeds killed and the problem of crop surpluses will be permanently solved if, indeed, there are any crops.

It is very easy to plan a nuclear war. It is only a matter of megatonages delivered in the right places. But one cannot have nuclear war and the continuity of life as we know it. The two are incompatible — how incompatible the biologists, not the physicists, are the ones to tell us.

'SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE' . . *Steven V. Roberts*

Washington

MORE THAN 5,000 students from almost a hundred colleges converged on Washington on February 16 and 17 to express their opinions on nuclear testing, civil defense and other cold-war problems. As several of them entered the office of Sen. John Marshall Butler (R., Md.) to discuss the proposals of the Turn Toward Peace Student Council, sponsors of the project, a secretary in the outer office whispered to a colleague: "They couldn't be with that peace march. They look like such nice kids. They look so respectable."

The secretary was justified in her incredulity. The traditional images evoked by the phrase "peace march" — beards, sandals, guitars, a political philosophy tinged with the rosy hue of the "non-democratic Left" — did not fit these youthful constituents.

There were many new things about this group besides its cleanliness. One was its size: a veteran White House policeman said it was the largest demonstration he had seen in thirty-seven years of duty. Another was its seriousness: even the notoriously hostile Washington police expressed their admiration for the group's demeanor. The project lasted two days, and except for one incident involving two of the demonstrators, the whole thing went off without a hitch. The talk was of nuclear weapons, bomb

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STEVEN V. ROBERTS, an editor of the Harvard Crimson, *has written extensively on student political activity.*

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shelters, the United Nations. The football stadium, the fraternity house, even the twist seemed far away. So in part, did the classroom, whose often stuffy, abstract intellectualism was being here translated into action.

But the major departure of the Washington Project was a renunciation of the emotional, over-simplified approach that has characterized so many student demonstrations in the past. The students arrived here with an eight-page policy statement, hammered out at numerous meetings of the group's leadership. The students hoped to present the document to Congressmen, Administration and embassy officials.

The idea for the Washington Project was not, however, the result of any grandiose study. It started with a widespread, almost desperate feeling that, in the words of Todd Gitlin, a Harvard junior and one of the prime movers of the project, "something had to be done."

A WEEK before descending on Washington, Gitlin and his fellow officers of Tocsin, the Harvard student disarmament group, outlined the beginnings of the project. They realized at once that they did not have the money or facilities to conduct a project on the scale they felt necessary. The result was a combining of Tocsin with several nation-wide "peace groups," including the Student Peace Union (launched last year at the University of Chicago), Students for a Democratic Society (youth wing of the League for Industrial Democracy), and the American Friends Service Committee. They united their efforts under the aegis of Turn Toward Peace, an adult organization, and called themselves the Turn Toward Peace Student Council.

But if the participating bodies had a common interest in peace, they represented wide-ranging ideas on policy and approach. The decision to confront Congressmen in a showcase example of democracy at work represented a victory for the more moderate elements; the establishment of picket lines, and the mass meeting that took place at the close of the two days, represented a victory for the more radical elements.

On substantive issues, the leaders were very specific in denying extremism. *The New York Times* quoted David Ottaway, a Harvard senior, as saying "We're the right wing among the disarmament groups. We're not pacifists. We're not for selling out to the Russians."

The policy statement, which was widely distributed, emerged as a confused document. Many observers read into it that the group was flatly against atmospheric testing, but this is not entirely true. Some students merely want the President to weigh factors other than technical ones in making his decision; and they demand that if the decision is for testing, a full public explanation be given. On civil defense, the students are more united: they oppose shelters as offering "almost no protection . . . in the event of all-out nuclear attack," and they consider that shelter proponents ignore the "violence and profound social disorganization" that would exist among survivors. The students further believe that "by creating the illusion of public safety, civil defense encourages public support for the kind of 'hard' foreign policy being urged by extremists."

The Washington Project policy statement also supports the theory of "unilateral initiative" first propounded by Prof. Charles Osgood and later picked up by C. Wright Mills in his book, *The Causes of World War III*. The theory is that the United States should take certain actions, such as withdrawal of bases from Greece and Turkey, in the hope that the Soviet Union would reciprocate, and thereby ease relations between the two powers. The statement is careful not to urge any unilateral action which, if not reciprocated, would injure this country's deterrent capabilities. Among the steps the students propose are a commitment not to give nuclear weapons to countries that do not now possess them; recognition that the problem of Berlin can only be solved in the general context of Germany and Central Europe; and a "vastly expanded United States program of economic, technical and educational aid abroad, channeled through the United Nations."

Many students believe that "there are people now in the White House who will listen to us." They support a great many of President Kennedy's proposals, such as the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Food for Peace, purchase of U.N. bonds, cultural and intellectual exchanges with the Soviet Union, and the "opening of communications media on the widest possible basis" with the Soviets. The President's speech to the U.N. in September, in which he had challenged Russia to a "peace race," encouraged them; but they now feel that he is hampered in implementing many of his plans by pressure from the Right. One major aim of the demonstration was to counteract this conservative influence.

REACTIONS by official Washington closely followed pro- and anti-Kennedy lines. Rep. Chet Holifield (D., Calif.), Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and one of the leading proponents of renewed atmospheric testing, said the students were "full of baloney." Sen. John O. Pastore (D., R. I.), vice-chairman of the committee, was one of the few Congressmen who would not even see a student delegation. He told a student reporter he was against "emotional outbursts" in place of "well-founded, knowledgeable, democratic opinion" and was insulted at the students' "questioning the ability of chosen leaders to make decisions." Pastore charged that only those who have had the experience of confronting the Russians could presume to offer legitimate opinions as to how to handle them. His comment on "emotional outbursts" illustrates the unfavorable preconceptions of such demonstrations — a problem future projects must consider closely.

Other Congressmen listened, however. Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D., Wis.) spoke with visiting students for almost an hour. He cautioned a radical group from Antioch College to abjure emotionalism, saying, "You cannot allow people to think you are extremists. If they do, it will destroy your effectiveness." He added that foreign-policy machinery is "very hard to change," but urged the students to continue their activities. Recognizing a growing "alienation" among students

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from the decision-making process, he recommended active support of specific "peace candidates," such as Richard Richards, California Democrat, and Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D., N.Y.).

The students were also welcomed at the White House, where six of the leaders met with McGeorge Bundy, one of the President's top foreign-policy advisers and formerly a dean at Harvard; Mark Raskin, his assistant; Jerome Weisner, the President's chief science adviser, and Theodore Sorenson. The President sent out an urn of coffee to the marchers but declined all requests to appear before them personally.

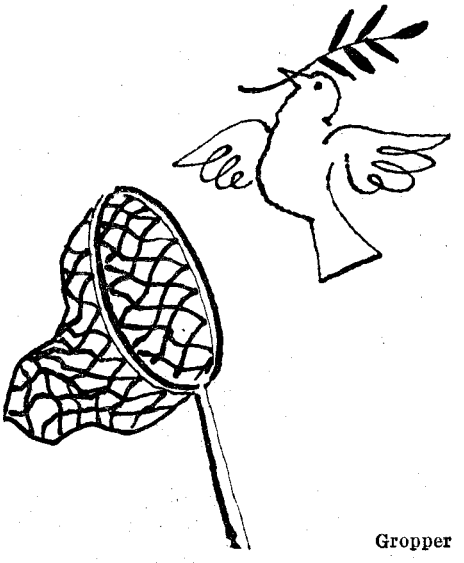
The White House officials told the students that, contrary to rumor, the decision to resume nuclear testing had not yet been made, and assured them that technical considerations would not be paramount in deciding the issue. Weisner is a vocal opponent of resumption of testing, and many of the students felt the President, too, is personally against the move at this time. Although generally skeptical of the idea of "unilateral initiatives," the officials did indicate sympathy for the withdrawal of U.S. bases from Greece and Turkey, and welcomed the group's support for many of the President's proposals. They expressed appreciation of "the constructive criticism" in the policy statement and seemed especially grateful for any opposition to the "cold warriors" on the Right.

The State Department proved condescendingly neutral — a deadly attitude to assume with college students. In a press conference after the meeting of twenty-three students with five State officials, Peter Goldmark, a senior at Harvard, expressed "amazement" at the attitude of the officials who, he said, treated them as if they were "very, very young, not at all intelligent, and in the dark on cold-war issues."

THE 5,000 students who made the trek to Washington did not change any minds; they did not expect to. The reactions of Congressmen, on the whole, were fairly predictable: the Holifields and Pastores are not going to be swayed, the Edith Greens and Kastenmeiers are still friendly. The State Department visit was disheartening; the discussion with the Presidential advisers encouraging.

A large percentage of the students in the Washington Project fit into the general political category of the "realistic liberal." Today the old ideological scale of Left, Right and Center begins to break down; most students do not think in ideological terms. "Realistic liberalism" connotes a wide range of political opinion which is opposed to the emotional over-simplifications found in the Right and Left. It does not submerge all problems into one cause, such as anti-communism or unilateral disarmament. It has the failing of lacking a total world view, but the virtue of dealing with problems, if only one by one, according to the reality of each situation, and not in accordance with any preconceived pattern. Just such a rational, "realistic" approach was the aim of the leadership of the Washington Project. But this type of "approach" has existed since the resurgence of student political activity that began two years ago with the sit-in demonstrations. What is new is the procedure the "realistic liberals" used to promote their views — direct confrontation of their elected representatives and participation in the process of democratic government.

The feeling that "something had to be done," which lay at the root of this particular project, carries in it a fear not only of the spiraling arms race, but also a fear of the broadening chasm between the citizen and the decision-making process. It is this alienation, caused by a complex of factors, including "big government" and "dirty politics," which forced the initial sit-in demonstrators to make a direct moral appeal, rather than a political one. Today, however, whether it be from a growing confidence in their political strength, or a more basic desire to bridge the gap before it grows too large, there is a desperate feeling among politically concerned students that the traditional democratic process must be rescued.



Gropper

THE SUCCESS of the Washington Project must be assayed on two levels. The "direct confrontation" of Congressmen was at best a limited success. McGeorge Bundy, at the White House, warned the students gently but firmly that "It is very easy to overestimate anyone's effect on foreign policy." Every speaker who addressed seminars and briefing sessions before the Project said the same thing: "Don't have any illusions about the effect you will have." After the first day, spirits were at a low ebb — and yet some still found the will to speak of the "beginning" that was the Washington Project.

The second and final day, Saturday, was different. A bright winter sun shone in a clear blue sky. The busloads kept coming. The pickets were four abreast along Pennsylvania Avenue and ringed Lafayette Park across the street. Students were "doing something." Their faith in what they were doing was renewed.

If they did not convince the State Department to withdraw missile bases from Greece and Turkey, at least they manifested public support for the liberal thrust of President Kennedy's policies. If they did not convince Chet Holifield to reverse his position on nuclear testing, at least they came to realize that they have to support, with hard work, men who oppose him.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of the Washington Project was not in Washington at all, but back on the campuses all over the country. Almost every college newspaper ran stories; almost every lunch table rang with impassioned oratory.

There are still problems for the

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student "peace movement." It must not blur the real differences that exist among the various participant organizations. Mass demonstrations, it must be realized, are burdened by public preconceptions that only deliberate planning and education can relieve. But they should be retained, both for their publicity value and the chance they give students for participation in political action.

The outlook for the next few years offers little promise of relief from tensions and deadlock. It will take courage to remain realistic and not seek refuge in over-simplifications and emotional sloganeering. Students will be ignored, chastised, insulted. They will face frustration, and even moments of total impotence and despair. Yet one feels that this activity must continue, both for the larger and more distant hope of reaching at least partial solutions, and for the immediate imperative of establishing in the American college student and future voter, and in turn the American citizen at large, a renewed sense of his personal place in a living democracy.

REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Fumbling on the New Frontier . . *by Martin Luther King, Jr.*

In our issue of Feb. 4, 1961, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., outlined a program on civil rights which he thought the newly installed Kennedy Administration might fruitfully follow. The title was "Equality Now: The President Has the Power"; the thesis, that faster progress toward racial equality could be made by the exercise of existing Executive authority than through Congress where, in the last analysis, the Dixiecrats wield decisive power.

Mr. King's original article was projected as the first of a series of annual reviews by him of the fight for racial equality. In the following article, the year 1961 comes under scrutiny. It goes without saying that the American Negro has no more knowledgeable or influential spokesman than this Southern clergyman, who rose to national prominence during the historic Montgomery bus boycott and is now President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.—EDITORS.

THE KENNEDY Administration in 1961 waged an essentially cautious and defensive struggle for civil rights against an unyielding adversary. As the year unfolded, Executive initiative became increasingly feeble, and the chilling prospect emerged of a general Administration retreat. In backing away from an Executive Order to end discrimination in housing, the President did more to undermine confidence in his intentions than could be offset by a series of smaller accomplishments during the year. He has begun 1962 with a show of renewed aggressiveness; one can only hope that it will be sustained.

In any case, it is clear that the vigorous young men of this Administration have displayed a certain *élan* in the attention they give to civil-rights issues. Undaunted by Southern backwardness and customs, they conceived and launched some imaginative and bold forays. It is also clear that this Administration has reached out more creatively than its predecessors to blaze some new trails, notably in the sensitive areas of voting and registration. Moreover, President Kennedy has appointed more Negroes to key government posts than has any previous administration. One Executive Order has been issued which, if vigorously enforced, will go a long, long way toward eliminating employment discrimination in federal agencies and in industries where government contracts are involved. So it is obvious that the Kennedy Administration has to its credit some constructive and praiseworthy achievements.

With regard to civil rights, then, it would be profoundly wrong to take an extreme position either way when viewing the Administration. While the President has not yet earned unqualified confidence and support, neither has he earned rejection and withdrawal of support. Perhaps his earnestness of attitude, fed with the vitamins of mass action, may yet grow into passionate purpose. The civil-rights movement must remain critical and flexible, watchful and active.

It is fortunate that the initiatives that President Kennedy has directed toward the reduction of international tensions present no contradictions with respect to civil rights. The Administration need have no fear that the white South will punish it for its desegregation attitudes by withholding support for a new foreign policy. While white and Negro Southerners have not yet mastered the art of living together in a relaxed society of brotherhood, they are united in the desire to remain alive. Indeed, Negroes *need* an international *détente*, because in a period of tensions and crisis their needs are easily forgotten, and a political rigidity grips the nation that sharply inhibits social change.

THE YEAR 1961 was characterized by inadequacy and incompleteness in the civil-rights field. It is not only that the Administration too often retreated in haste from a battlefield which it has proclaimed a field of honor, but — more significantly — its basic strategic goals have been narrowed. Its efforts have been directed toward limited accomplishments in a number of areas, affecting few individuals and altering old patterns only superficially. Changes in depth and breadth are not yet in sight, nor has there been a commitment of resources adequate to enforce extensive change. It is

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a melancholy fact that the Administration is aggressively driving only toward the limited goal of token integration.

It is important to understand the perspective from which this criticism develops. The paradox of laudable limited progress on the one hand, and frustrating insufficiency of progress on the other, is understandable if it is realized that the civil-rights struggle can be viewed from two quite dissimilar perspectives. Many people of good will accept the achievement of steady advances, even when fractional. They feel simple addition must eventually accumulate a totality of social gains which will answer the problem. Others, however, viewing the task from the long perspective of history, are less sanguine. They are aware that the struggle being waged is against an opposition capable of the most tenacious resistance, either actively or through inertia. Such forces are not overcome by simple pressures, but only through massive exertion. This is a law not alone of physics, but of society as well.

TO illustrate, it is not practical to integrate buses, and then over an extended period of time expect to add another gain, and then another and another. Unfortunately, resistance stiffens after each limited victory; inertia sets in, and the forward movement not only slows down, but is often reversed entirely. What is required to maintain gains is an initial sweep of positive action so far-reaching that it immobilizes and weakens the adversary, thus depriving him of his power to retaliate. Simultaneously, in order that public officials are not left free to circumvent the law by local devices, an extensive campaign to put the franchise in the hands of Negroes must be conducted. These programs, in turn, require for their success that a corps of responsible leaders be trained and developed — that ample legal defense skills and financial resources be available. In short, what is required is massive social mobilization uniting the strength of individuals, organizations, government, press and schools.

It is clear that to date no Administration has grasped the problem in this total sense and committed the varieties of weaponry required for constructive action on so broad a scale.

BEYOND this, the American Negro is impelled by psychological motives not fully understood even by his white allies. Every Negro, regardless of his educational or cultural level, carries the burden of centuries of deprivation and inferior status. The burden is with him every waking moment of his life — and often, through his dreams, dominates his sleeping moments as well. It diminishes his confidence and belittles his achievements. He is tormented by the overwhelming task of catching up. This problem sharpens to a razor edge when he confronts a new struggle and is aware of the pitiful inadequacy of his resources.

When the nation feels threatened by war, a military budget of some $50 billion is freely spent each year to achieve security. Not even $1 billion a year is spent by government on behalf of 20,000,000 Negroes seeking to defend themselves from the persistent attack on their rights. When Negroes look from their overworked, undermanned civil-rights organizations to their government, they see in Washington only a tiny bureau, equally undermanned and overworked, hopelessly incapable of doing what is necessary. They cannot feel certain that progress is over tomorrow's horizon, or even that the government has any real understanding of the dimensions of their problems.

Their sense of inadequacy is further heightened when they look at Africa and Asia and see with envy the bursting of age-old bonds in societies still partially at a tribal level, but ablaze with modern vitality and creativity. An Alliance for Progress for South America, to cost $20 billion, is forward-looking and necessary. An Alliance for Progress for the turbulent South is equally necessary.

From this perspective, the New Frontier is unfortunately not new enough; and the Frontier is set too close to the rear.

In the year that has just passed, certain significant developments occurred in the South that are worthy of comment. Despite tormenting handicaps, Negroes moved from sporadic, limited actions to broad-scale activities different in kind and degree from anything done in the past. City after city was swept by boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides and registration campaigns. A new spirit was manifest in the Negro's willingness to demonstrate in the streets of communities in which, by tradition, he was supposed to step aside when a white man strode toward him.

The change in spirit was even more dramatically exemplified by the Negroes' willingness, in communities such as Albany, Georgia, to endure mass jailing. Words cannot express the exultation felt by the individual as he finds himself, with hundreds of his fellows, behind prison bars for a cause he knows is just. This exultation has been felt by businessmen, workers, teachers, ministers, housewives, housemaids — in ages ranging from the early teens to the seventies. Significantly, these people were not gathered from across the nation; all were local residents, except for a few "outsiders" and "aliens" — including this writer, who is from far-off Atlanta, Georgia.

To the depth of these movements was added breadth when areas such as Mississippi and rural Georgia, hitherto quiescent, were churned into turbulence by registration campaigns and freedom rides.

THUS 1961 saw the Negro moving relentlessly forward against an opposition that was occasionally reasonable, but unfortunately more often vicious. It was a year of the victory of the nonviolent method: though blood flowed, not one drop was drawn by a Negro from his adversary. Yet the victories were scored by the victims, not by the violent mobs.

These highlights are cited to illustrate that Negroes, despite shortcomings and a flood of unresolved problems, were spiritedly meeting their obligation to act.

It is against this backdrop that the inquiry into the experience of 1961 turns us again to the Administra-

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tion and its responsibilities. At the beginning of the year, the cautious approach of the Administration turned a possible spectacular victory into a tragic defeat. A move was made in the Senate to end the two-thirds cloture rule — the legislative incinerator that burns into ashes all civil-rights bills. At the climactic moment, the Administration remained mute instead of carrying out its pledge of active leadership. Even so, the measure was defeated by a narrow 50-46 vote. No one doubts that had the Administration spoken, a historic victory would have resulted.

THE Administration then brought forth a plan to substitute Executive orders for legislative programs. The most challenging order, to end discrimination in federal housing, while no adequate substitute for the many legislative acts promised in campaign platforms and speeches, nevertheless was alluring, and pressure abated for Congressional action. The year passed and the President fumbled. By the close of the year, a new concept was adopted: the President now wished to "move ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus." According to Washington observers, this concept derived from the President's concern that his legislative programs in other areas, notably his trade program, might suffer at the hands of key Southern Congressmen—if he moved "too fast" on civil rights.

For years, Abraham Lincoln resisted signing the Emancipation Proclamation because he feared to alienate the slaveholders in the border states. But the imperatives of the Civil War required that slavery be ended, and he finally signed the document and won the war, preserved the nation, and gave America its greatest hour of moral glory. President Kennedy may be tormented by a similar dilemma, and may well be compelled to make an equally fateful decision — one which, if correct, could be found a century later to have made the nation greater and the man more memorable.

Though one can respect the urgency of trade legislation to facilitate competition with the European Common Market, the 20 million

Americans who have waited 300 years to be able to compete as human beings in the market place at home have the right to question whether, this year, trade agreements are more important than their long-postponed freedom. Should Americans favor the winning of the welfare and trade programs in Congress at the cost of the Negro citizen's elementary rights?

Are we seeking our national purpose in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "All men are created equal . . . endowed with certain inalienable rights. . . . Among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? Or are we pursuing the national purpose proclaimed by Calvin Coolidge, who said: "The business of America is business"?

It may be an electrifying act to shelve trade bills for human-rights legislation because it has never been done before. Perhaps that alone is reason enough to do it.

EVEN apart from morality, practical considerations require a different course. The defensive posture of the President against adversaries seasoned in the art of combat, and older than the nation itself, will increase his impotence, not release his strength. They have already paralyzed his Executive power by holding hostage his legislative program. If he cannot break out of this prison, he will be unable either to influence legislation or use his Executive powers, and in this confinement he may become a tragically helpless figure.

Impotence at a moment of kaleidoscopic world change is even worse than error. The President is seeking compromises acceptable to his jailers, but they would rather paralyze him than accept compromises. It is deeply significant that the activities of the ultra-right-wing organizations are aimed principally at the President, and that the one issue uniting all the disparate rightist groups is their virulent opposition to civil rights. He has already challenged them, boldly, but holding to the offensive on civil rights is part of the challenge.

The President and the Administration are impressively popular. The President will have to take his fight to the people, who trust him. He must now trust *them*. He can be confident that correct policy, sound issues and an aroused people are a fortress mightier than a hundred reactionary committee chairmen. An illustrious predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, relied more on the weight of the people than on maneuvering in Congressional cloakrooms.

IF THE President acts, his leadership will communicate strength to waiting millions. Firm, decisive direction from him will galvanize the forces that can turn a program into an actuality. "Nothing in the world is stronger," Victor Hugo said, "than an idea whose time has come." The nation is ready and eager for bold leadership in civil rights. This is evident in the scope and quality of the actions that were conducted last year even in the absence of sustained, strong, national leadership.

The opportunity is not yet lost, nor has the sincerity of the Administration been irrevocably discredited. But the clock of history is nearing the midnight hour and an upsurge in governmental activity is an inescapable necessity. The Negro in 1962 — almost one hundred years after slavery's demise — justifiably looks to government for comprehensive, vital programs which will change the totality of his life.

Civil rights will continue for many decades to remain a political foot-

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ball unless the national government abandons the traditional piecemeal approach and constructs a long-term plan. India and other underdeveloped nations, confronting the monumental challenge to liquidate centuries of backwardness, have relied upon detailed plans of two years, four years, six years. The plans define the specific steps to be taken by stages which will lift the nation into a new era. We are not strangers to such conceptions. The President has proposed a ten-year plan to put a man on the moon. We do not yet have a plan to put a Negro in the State Legislature of Alabama.

The development of a plan for the nation-wide and complete realization of civil rights would accomplish several purposes. It would affirm that the nation is committed to solve the problem within a stated period of time; it would establish that the full resources of government would be available to that end, whatever the cost. (In this connection, it is well to remember that our country built its foundations on a cotton economy based on two centuries of virtually unpaid labor by millions of Negroes.) Finally, a plan would enable the nation to assess progress from time to time, and would declare to those who dream that segregation and discrimination can still be preserved that they must begin to live with the realities of the twentieth century.

Second Thoughts on Common Market.. *by Clive Jenkins*

London

THE CURRENT ferocious debate here on whether the United Kingdom should join the Common Market cuts across the usual party lines. I have been criticized for sharing a platform with Lord Hinchingbrooke (an individualistic right-wing conservative Member of Parliament), and there have been similar instances of people jointly criticizing the Brussels negotiations from very different points of view. Early government propaganda that Britain may become a "stagnant economic backwater" unless we do something "bold and imaginative" is beginning to rebound: the reaction is "Well, who got us into this fix in the first place?" If a general election is fought on the issue of whether Britain should join this small group of Western European nations, some very surprising results might show.

A weakness in the entire national debate is that the labor movement still hasn't had enough discussion on this important question. In fact, the whole issue was only brought into public debate when my union, and the Draughtsmen, put resolutions down for the annual meeting of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions in June, 1961. Subsequently, we pressed on with motions before both the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference, which took place in the fall. The party decisions were the most significant. A composite resolution, offered by the Center group, read:

> This Conference does not approve Britain's entry into the Common Market unless guarantees protecting the position of British agriculture and horticulture, the European Free Trade Association countries and the Commonwealth are obtained, and Britain retains the power of using public economic ownership and planning as measures to ensure social progress within the United Kingdom. This Conference also calls on the National Executive Committee [of the Labour Party] to convene a meeting of Socialist leaders of Western Europe and Commonwealth Countries to discuss the effects of the Common Market.

The resolution was carried overwhelmingly. A more sharply worded resolution, which I moved on behalf of my own union and seven other organizations, was subsequently submitted to the Executive Committee for its consideration. This read:

> This Conference believes that entry into the Common Market by Britain on the basis of the Treaty of Rome would be injurious to our national interests. It instructs the National Executive Committee in the preparation of future policy documents to stress the importance of developing trading relations with the Commonwealth and underdeveloped countries throughout the world.

Since last fall, the almost entirely pro-Common Market press and television outlets here have sought to create the impression that the Labour Party hasn't made up its mind on the issue of entry. Yet it is obvious from the resolution which was so widely supported (say, 1,200 to 20) that Labour is really calling for an extension of a free-trade area in Europe instead of the establishment, by an exclusive group of white Western European nations, of a special and exploiting relationship with underdeveloped nations throughout the world.

A LABOUR group in the House of Commons, estimated to be a hundred strong, plus a number of Conservatives, are now committed to opposing British entry unless every one of these conditions is met — conditions, of course, which are completely unacceptable to Professor Hallstein, the Chairman of the European Economic Community Commission, and his fellow members. This is almost certainly bound to mean a major political clash, not only in Parliament, but in the country as a whole. For three years now, money has been poured into the pro-Common Market campaign here. There are several front organizations working that are obviously being fed by Common Market sources; and

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institutions of the Common Market itself have established headquarters in London, where they publish glossy material and entertain publicists and politicians. There has already been questioning by both Labour and Conservative MPs about the source of the propaganda funds, but no information has been forthcoming. Certainly, none has been volunteered from the spenders.

There is a widespread feeling that the recent loan that Britain raised from the International Monetary Fund was permitted only after the British Government had given President Kennedy a firm guarantee that it would apply for Common Market membership in order to strengthen Western Europe as "a bulwark against communism."

AT ANY rate, some sort of pressure seems to have been exerted by the American State Department and Dr. Adenauer. For the case against British membership is a strong one. The present Prime Minister, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, said: "I don't believe that this House would ever agree to enter arrangements which would stop us from treating a great range of imports from the Commonwealth at least as favorably as any European country. . . . We must continue free to maintain the volume of preferential imports from the Commonwealth." As late as Feb. 12, 1959, another Conservative Minister, Reginald Maudling, was saying frankly: ". . . We must recognize that the aim of the main components of the Community is political integration. . . . The common idea of the Six [i.e., the Common Market six], the Iron and Steel Community and Euratom is a movement towards political integration. That is a fine aspiration, but we must recognize that for us to sign a Treaty of Rome would be to accept, as the ultimate goal, political federation in Europe including ourselves. That, as I have said, does not seem to me a proposition which, at the moment, commands majority support in this country."

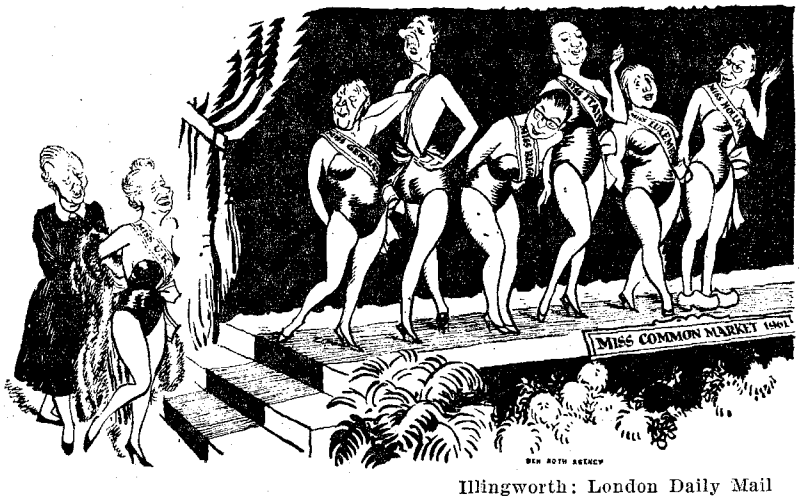
Yet, only three years later, the Conservative leadership is moving towards federation. Why? The rate of expansion of the countries within the Six has slowed down very considerably. There are many economists who believe that the rate would have been higher had they *not* banded together. Again, only 14 per cent of British exports go to the Six, while 46 per cent go to the Commonwealth. A simple proposition thereby emerges: Why lower tariff on goods from countries which take only 14 per cent of our exports and erect them against others which take 86 per cent?

IT ALSO seems clear that membership would mean that such important British industries as automobile manufacturing would be hurt by Commonwealth barriers at the same time that they faced strong competition in their home areas from German and French manufacturers. However, the economic arguments are no longer the most important for the anti-Common Market activists in the Labour Party and the unions. They are now most concerned about Article 92 of the constitution of the EEC, which prohibits "any aid granted by a member state or granted by means of state resources in any manner whatsoever, which distorts or threatens to distort competition by favoring certain enterprises or certain productions." This wording would make it impossible for a future Socialist government to provide for adequate social planning by means of selective subsidy or taxation. On the other hand, the Treaty of Rome provides all sorts of formal permission for cartels to organize themselves on a supra-national basis and, for the first time in European history, for them to be able to conduct their managerial operations without regard to the policies of any government in the countries where they operate their businesses or industries.

THE political complexion of EEC is that of NATO. This is one of the reasons why Norway, Denmark and Portugal may enter the market, while Sweden, Finland, Austria and Switzerland have declared that they are not interested in full membership which, they judge, would violate their neutral status. It is clear that Dr. Adenauer and General de Gaulle see the Common Market as an economic underpinning for the cold-war policies of NATO. The leaders of the newly emerging African countries — particularly those within the British Commonwealth — have already viewed with disquiet the inferior position that their countries might have to swallow if present developments continue unchecked. Harold Wilson, MP, who is the Labour Party's "shadow" Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons, underlined this by pointing out

> . . . the danger not only to Britain, but to the world, if we are forced into a common policy identifying us with French policy in Algeria and German obstructionism over Berlin. . . . There are many signs of a desire to erect an arid and sterile tight trading and defensive bloc, whose main intent appears and ends in desire to present a cold-war front to the East.

Britain without the Common-



Illingworth: London Daily Mail

Late Entry.

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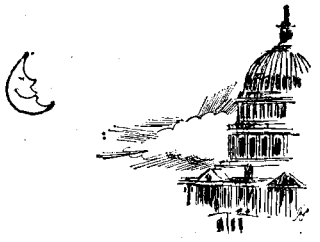
wealth would obviously be able to exercise much less effect upon the reactionary governments of Western Europe if she joined than if she stood outside. The trade unions share these political fears, but are also, more narrowly, conscious of the low wage rates in Italy and in Holland. They have noted, with disquiet, that Britain's industrialists have already formed a number of key connections with their former competitors on the continent of Europe and are rapidly extending these day by day. They are even recruiting key British technicians on short-term contracts to help transfer work from the United Kingdom to the Continent. At the same time the move towards rationalization and merger, and the creation of larger and larger units in British manufacturing industry, are achieving an unprecedented momentum.

But the role of the United States is interesting and complex. Why does it encourage the Common Market? Will a liberalization of its trading policies actually be harmful to it? There is a body of opinion in Britain which believes that the United States Government also realizes that the idea of Atlantic union is quite illusory, but believes in the distinct possibility of special trading relationships being built up among the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia in the event of the Commonweath links being loosened.

THE Conservative Lord Hinchingbrooke agreed with Wilson in a speech in which he remarked: "There are honorable members on this side of the House who would rather see this country ruled by European bureaucracy than ruled by British socialism. The fear of nationalization, or loss of business enterprise and overtaxation, is such in the minds of many of my honorable friends that they think there is a nice easy escape route out of it into Europe." So, while the Common Market is a vital ancillary to the cold war, there are certain major side advantages to the economic policy of the United States Government. Among these is the interesting prospect of submerging the troublesome British labor movement into a permanent minority position in Europe.

These are the ingredients of a general election in which a classic alliance of the urban masses represented by the Labour Party; the trade unions, threatened with deteriorating conditions; the farmers and the smaller manufacturers might cause some surprising political upsets if, at the same time, a section of the Conservative radical Right — still devoted to the cause of Empire — goes fishing on polling day.



MOONSHOT

A play in three acts . . by J. F. POWERS

MOON BUILDINGS — Jack Green, a North American Aviation scientist, said moon explorers might be able to construct buildings with pumice dust, a hard, powdery substance that may exist around volcanic craters on the moon. In a report for a meeting in Washington, D.C., of the American Astronautical Society, Green said it might be possible to shape the dust into blocks. These could be held together by a "waterless cement," obtained from sulphur, which also is believed to exist on the moon. — Minneapolis Morning Tribune, Jan. 17, 1962.

CAST

TOM BROWN, a young scientist.
HAPPY HICKMAN, his friend, a young astronaut.
SENATOR HODGKINS, Chairman, Senate Committee on Oceans, Rivers, Lakes, Harbors, and Space.
SENATOR WOODROW, his friend, a member of the Committee.
SENATOR MELLER, a member of the Committee, of the other party.
NANCY, Senator Hodgkins' pretty daughter and secretary.
SOPHIE, Senator Woodrow's pretty daughter and secretary.
Sergeant-at-Arms, Press, Television, and Radio People, Lobbyists, Spies, Students of Government, Chaperones and School Children, and Others.

ACT ONE

Time: Now

Place: A crowded hearing room, Washington, D.C.

HODGKINS (continuing): You a friend of Jack Green?

TOM: No, sir.

HODGKINS: But you know him, don't you?

TOM: No, sir. I don't.

HODGKINS: Don't tell me you haven't heard of him.

TOM: I won't say I haven't heard of him, sir.

HODGKINS: I thought not.

MELLER (*coming to*): Not so fast, Senator. Who's Jack Green?

WOODROW: A North American Aviation scientist.

HODGKINS: And these are *his* ideas that this fella's putting forward. What's your name again?

TOM: Brown, sir. Tom.

MELLER (*again*): You're a young scientist?

TOM: Yes, I am, sir.

MELLER: Employed by?

TOM: Self-employed, sir.

MELLER: And your friend also?

TOM: Yes, sir.

HAPPY (*rising*): Glad to make your acquaintance, sir.

MELLER: Glad to make *your* acquaintance, young man. I'm always glad to meet a young astronaut. Now these ideas, Tom—are they yours or somebody else's?

J. F. POWERS is the author of Prince of Darkness and Other Stories *(Doubleday) and a novel,* Morte D'Urban, *to be published by Doubleday in the fall.*

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TOM: I wouldn't claim them as my own, sir. I doubt that anybody would. It's been known for a long time in this country—and in others, unfortunately—that moon explorers might be able to construct buildings with pumice dust.

HODGKINS (*rapping table*): Quiet! You people will please remember that you're here as guests of the Committee.

MELLER: What is this pumice dust anyway?

TOM: It's a hard, powdery substance that may exist around volcanic craters on the moon.

MELLER: I'm not sure I understand.

TOM: It's believed that it might be possible to shape the dust—or p.d., as it's called—into blocks.

MELLER: Blocks?

TOM: Blocks, sir. These could be held together by a "waterless cement," not to put too fine a point on it, obtained from sulphur.

MELLER: Sulphur?

TOM: Yes, sir. Sulphur also is believed to exist on the moon.

HODGKINS: I'm surprised you didn't know this, Senator.

WOODROW: I'm not.

MELLER: This isn't my only committee, gentlemen.

HODGKINS: This isn't *my* only committee.

WOODROW: Or mine.

HODGKINS: Nancy, see that the Senator gets copies of a report for a meeting in Washington, D.C., of the American Astronautical Society.

NANCY: Oh, all right.

WOODROW: Sophie, will you see that the Senator gets copies?

SOPHIE: Why do I have to do everything? Oh, all right.

MELLER: Thank you.

HODGKINS: Who're all those people? Never mind. I thought they were coming in here. Well, Brown, we'd like to be of service to you, of course, but, as you know, this Administration is dedicated to economy as well as security, and we need every penny we have for projects under way—for *regular* agencies of the government. If there was anything really new in your approach, or if you'd actually made the trip to the moon and back, it might be different.

ACT TWO

Time: Later
Place: The Moon

HAPPY: Any luck, Tom?

TOM: It's easy enough to get the dust shaped into a block, but as soon as you turn your back something happens to it.

HAPPY: We're using too thin a mixture, you think?

TOM: Too thin, or too rich, or conditions aren't right—or something! There it goes again. It won't hold up. How you comin'?

HAPPY: Well, this one worked up better than the last. The question is will it hold up any better. Nope.

TOM: One more try, to use up what we've got on hand here, and I'm turning in. We've had a long day, Hap.

HAPPY: You can say that again.

TOM: Round up some more p.d. and sulphur, so we can get an early start tomorrow. Go ahead, Hap, I'll clean up here.

HAPPY: Thanks, Tom. You're a brick.

TOM: That last batch of sulphur seemed to have more to it.

HAPPY: There's plenty more where that came from.

TOM: Don't go too far away, Hap. It's getting dark.

ACT THREE

Time: Later
Place: A crowded hearing room, Washington, D.C.

HODGKINS: Brown? Who's he? How'd he get scheduled?

WOODROW: I'm sure I don't know.

MELLER: Don't look at me.

HODGKINS: Brown, if you're Brown, who scheduled you?

TOM: I'd rather not say at this time, sir. When you hear all we have to say, sir, I think you'll understand.

HODGKINS: *We?* Who's *We?*

TOM: My friend and I.

WOODROW: Is your friend present?

HAPPY: Yes, sir.

HODGKINS: Who scheduled *you?*

HAPPY: We've just returned from the moon, sir.

HODGKINS: (*rapping the table*): Quiet! You people will please remember that you're here as guests of the Committee.

MELLER: *Tom* Brown?

TOM: Yes, sir.

MELLER: Is it true, Tom, that you've just returned from the moon?

TOM: Yes, sir. Actually, we've been back about a week.

HODGKINS: (*rapping the table*): Now see here—*quiet!*

HAPPY: We wanted your Committee to be the first to know, sir.

CYNICAL REPORTER: They came to the right place.

TOM: We would've come sooner, sir, but couldn't get past your administrative assistants.

HAPPY: And legislative assistants, sir.

HODGKINS: I'm always available.

WOODROW: So am I.

MELLER: Just the two of you made the trip, Tom?

TOM: Yes, sir. There wasn't room for more, what with all the gear. It's just a little two-seater, Hap's heap. Supercharged, of course.

WOODROW: What kind of cock-and-bull story is this?

MELLER: My witness, Senator. And how was it on the moon, Tom?

TOM: About as expected, sir. Dusty. Airless, and therefore soundless, but we used sign language, and later lip reading. Hot during most of the day and cold at night. No rain to speak of while we were there, no moonquakes, and only an occasional meteor hit—none very close to us, fortunately.

HAPPY: Don't you believe it, Senator. Tom had one near-miss.

TOM: I'd say the hardest thing about it was the duration of the days and nights—each day, each night lasting two weeks. This made for a long work day, to say nothing of the time spent in the, pardon the expression, sack. But our bodies soon got used to it. Our thoughts were often of home.

HAPPY: You can say that again.

TOM: And of course it took a while to get used to the buoyancy. I weighed 32½ pounds, but had the full use of my strength, and a corresponding bulge on matter, which made our work a lot easier than it would have been otherwise.

MELLER: What was your work, Tom?

TOM: Constructing buildings with pumice dust. We had a devil of a time at first. Couldn't get the p. d., as it's called, to mix properly with the stickem—this obtained from sulphur, which is abundant on the moon, though in varying strengths, so that you have to know what you're doing. We ran quality control tests constantly. Once we got the hang of it, we were all right.

MELLER: Did you construct a building?

TOM: Two, sir. Oh, nothing like this one but good and solid and not too small at that.

HAPPY: About the size of a bank.

TOM: But for the buoyancy factor, these

(*Continued on page 204*)

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Excavating the Twenties

LIFE AMONG THE SURREALISTS: A Memoir. By Matthew Josephson. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 403 pp. $6.

Harold Clurman

ON THE SURFACE this is a book of high-brow gossip. In it we read anecdotes, thumbnail sketches and brief aesthetic appraisals of such figures of the French and American art world as André Breton, Louis Aragon, Max Ernst, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Man Ray, Hart Crane, E. E. Cummings, Kenneth Burke, André Masson and many, many others.

On another level *Life Among the Surrealists* is a document of American cultural history. It is American because though the Dada and surrealist movements with which Mr. Josephson largely treats were centered in Paris, the value of his book lies in its description of how those foreign impulses (dealt with from the painter's point of view in *The History of Surrealist Painting* by Marcel Jean; Grove Press) affected one American writer typical of the period.

Life Among the Surrealists is Josephson's autobiography of his fervent (or fizzy) years. It is written without malice and with the optimism and enthusiasm that made its author during the twenties a prime mover in the launching of such *avant-garde* magazines as *Secession* and *Broom* — incubators for a number of genuinely gifted writers.

WHAT interests me most in the book is the graph it traces of the author's progress from the yeasty bubble and semi-bohemianism of the twenties to the discipline of the thirties when Josephson got down to the job of writing American historiography, along with straightforward biographies of such men as Zola, Hugo and Stendhal.

To some, an account of the surrealist movement must sound like ancient history, though a number of its leading figures are recognized masters today. The wicked twenties are now our days of innocence, although it is well worth noting that the more recent effusions of the pundits of the New York "school" of painters, as well as those of the Beat and Hip oracles, appear to echo some of the pompous pronouncements of the more vocal Dadaists and surrealists of old. Jean Genet is more violently intense than many of the writers Josephson cites, but the line from the age of André Breton to that of Genet is not long.

The surrealists aimed at undermining "the bourgeois moral plan." How was this to be accomplished? "By a giddy descent into our own depths, by the gradual illumination of hidden places and forbidden zones." The artist was to become attuned "to the psychic secrets of the cosmos and the universal flux of things. . . . The idea of abandoning oneself to the play of the subconscious mind and working from a state of psychic automatism made a powerful appeal to the young artists" of surrealist inclination. "The artist," Josephson goes on to explain," was to become a magician, a 'seer' and a prophet. . . . In liberating themselves [artists] would also help to overturn the foundations of our stupid bourgeois culture, would revolutionize our moral and social values."

The surrealist movement was the more emotional sequel to the Dadaist flurry (at its high point around 1920) which encouraged negation and destruction. Dadaism attempted to raise hell with the fraud of official culture. It represented both a farcical and a hysterical revulsion against civilization which had led to the holocaust of the First World War.

In all this, one should observe that the young European intellectuals attracted to these movements frequently resorted to symbols of American origin as weapons. Krazy Kat, Nick Carter novels, Mack Sennett comedies, Westerns, the silliest or most primitive of our movies (not to mention jazz), were employed by many of the Dadaists as instruments of absurdity with which to upset monuments of their own tradition.

THOUGHTFUL Americans of the early twenties also were embittered by the war and its aftermath. In this country we witnessed the mushrooming of an obstreperous materialism which was accompanied by a delirious sense of accomplishment, a vigorous impetus toward revaluation which ended either in a renewal of discovery or disgust.

What had served the European purpose of derision and subversion became with certain Americans a joyous college cheer. There was, as always in such American imitations (or parallels) of European movements, one part of juvenile aping, with little justification in local history, and another part of unconscious reinterpretation—what might be called creative distortion. Europe was poisoned; America imported this poison to convert it into a ferment that might prove either tonic or deleterious.

"In exuberant prose," Josephson writes of this epoch, "I called on the poets of my generation to turn their thoughts to the realities of the Machine Age and to sing of our 'new America' with its urbanized folkways, its mass entertainments, its violent dances, and its barbarous music." And again, in a study of "Fordism," Josephson wrote, "Let Ford assemble us all into his machines. Let us be properly assembled. Let us all function unanimously. Let the wheels turn more swiftly."

There were also at that time men like Edmund Wilson who wrote (as quoted by Josephson), "Do not make pets of the machines! Be careful that the elephants do not crush you! . . . The buildings are flattening us out; the machines are tearing us to pieces."

IN THIS REGARD I do not consider it inappropriate to introduce a recollection of my own. I had gone to Paris in 1921 (where I remained for three years) to study. I met Aaron Copland who was there for the same purpose. On his way over Copland had met the extraordinary Marcel Duchamp, then one of Dada's high priests. Copland was thoroughly impressed and more than a little depressed by this encounter. For Duchamp had been somewhat ironic about the idea of a boy from Brooklyn who proposed to become a composer, an artist. Art, Duchamp had told the student, was dead, futile, a fake; culture was a myth!

When Copland related this conversation to me I cried out (the verb is not inexact) "Duchamp is a Frenchman. He may have had his fill of art and culture. We are Americans; we need all we can get. If he is satiated let him abstain and not spew over us. Let us sit down to the banquet. It will make us strong."

Just as after the Second World War a good many young Frenchmen—supposedly "Americanized"—lost faith in

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literature (and here I am citing a talk I had with Albert Camus in 1947) but, influenced by events and by such writers as Sartre and Camus himself, were soon to turn deeply earnest, so Josephson and his like, as they became involved in the American experience, outgrew the frivolous aspects of their early indoctrination.

In one of the best passages of *Life Among the Surrealists* Josephson describes what appears to have been one of the most dramatic occurrences of his life. It was in 1930: Josephson and his wife were on the eve of a departure for Europe. A farewell party was being given at their apartment and as was common at that (Prohibition) time there was a free flow of booze. One of the guests — the literary editor of an eminent publishing house—leaped up to one of the massive old chandeliers and hung there kicking and waving his legs at everyone. Later that night while Josephson was half-asleep the colored janitor broke into the writer's bedroom with the anguished imperative, "Wake up, hurry, for God's sake.... The house is on fire! Everybody out."

Whether or not it was meant to be so, I take this incident as a symbol. For in the thirties America, which had been on a long spree, was awakened by one of its most severe crises. The last paragraph of *Life Among the Surrealists* reads "Our prospects at home seemed to grow darker: we were working harder for less money; many were suffering real need. Yet it would be far from the truth to say that we were less happy than we had been before in our 'fat' years. Surely no epoch in our history seemed more interesting and exciting to be 'engaged in' than that which opened for us in 1930. The members of my 'generation' who were born toward the year 1900 were growing up with their century; for better or worse they were becoming more like men of reason. For many of them the thirties were to be years of fruition."

The fifties brought in another reaction, and, apart from a certain lethargy, a new folly and a new despair. Another conflagration threatens. Our education is far from complete.

Voice in the Wilderness

THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES. By Jane Jacobs. Random House. 458 pp. $5.95.

Leslie Katz

A PIONEER work, and a profoundly original study, this book has implications wider than its immediate subject matter, and is worthy of all the attention it can receive.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century the great cities of America had a rich and communal street life; the wave of economic and social reform that arose following mass immigration renewed the vitality of urban existence, for rich and for poor. The parks were fully used and the streets, while not beyond horror, were vital with the civilization of intimate human exchange. As in European cities, there was glamour, and it was expressed in painting and literature that made heroes of the builders and the dwellers. Personalities and public characters abounded in all walks of life.

The desire today for a lost civil felicity is not nostalgic, but creative. The layman who cares wonders as he wanders: is "progress" bringing about an updated version of the slum sorrow and social abuses it replaces? The modern big city, now in tremendous transition, alternately offers the experience of crowded chaos or menacing emptiness. The interested citizen can frequently count himself a lost voice and a lost cause between two extremes — between those who have the power to dictate corporate and theoretical solutions unmodified by the human effects of actual results, and those who damn all constituted authority while taking none themselves, and give up to clichés of fatalism in the face of the vastness of the problems.

One can believe that the present confusion about the state of large American cities has been abetted by the general acceptance of a tyrannous new set of social conventions, commercialized idealisms that have fostered complacency in the name of "science," "sociology" and a "pure," or "self-expressive" aesthetic. A kind of unlegislated Prohibition against any intoxication with human dimension, a puritanical denigration of the nature and function of human pleasure, has tended to make a personal refuge and a social totem of neurosis. In city planning, particularly, the citizens have come to be manipulated integers in a mechanistic environment of class, instead of creatures of joy and despair, in a living relation to other human beings.

WHILE professionals hold sway, effective opposition must arise, as always, from independence of soul, the willingness to be honest, to put experience before concept. (Honesty is an immense form of originality.) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* has that honesty. It mounts its observations and ideas in a creative formulation so compelling that it cannot be ignored.

Jane Jacobs' principal assertion is: current ideas of big-city planning have stressed separation and specialty of function, fostering isolation and creating vacuum areas. But the health of a city arises from the variety of its activities, in lively diversity and complexity. Mingled uses, centering on street life, instead of fenced-in enclaves, should be fostered. Current city planning turns inward, away from street life. This book postulates an opposite trend, a turning outward, a planned interrelation of city neighborhood functions, instead of specialized areas for work, residence and recreation.

The author has studied city life, not according to theory, but as an interested observer in Walt Whitman's sense, as a person who respects other persons more than ideas about them, an individual in a crowd of individuals. She wanted ". . . to look closely, and with as little previous expectation as is possible, at the most ordinary scenes and events . . . to see what they mean and whether any threads of principle emerged among them." She watched particularly the use of sidewalks, of neighborhood parks and neighborhoods.

Her appreciation of the role of the sidewalk, in Part One of the book, restores to vigor a major forgotten fact: the sidewalk is one of the basic institutions of civilization, the primary stage of city life, on which we all strut and each day affirm ourselves as public beings. The sidewalk is the very ground of our native being as members of a community.

Now an argument can be made that the necessary scale of modern commercial and residential building has outmoded, or made secondary, humane considerations and the casualness of human association. The Goliath Supermarket has killed the David Grocery, as the giant housing project has replaced the private city house. But does increased organization and motorized traffic impose depersonalization and the end of small enterprise? On the contrary, the

LESLIE KATZ writes fiction and criticism. His Invitation to the Voyage *was published by Harcourt, Brace.*

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book asserts, small business has a place and plays an important role. City planning should encourage it, instead of depending on oversimplified, large-scale solutions.

Even without encouragement, small enterprise manages to emerge. One could cite, as a corollary, the rise of the off-Broadway theatre, the coffeehouses, the FM stations, all serving local need in large American cities. Wall Street office workers use the tombs of Trinity Church yard as park benches at lunch time, rather than the prison-barred cement precincts of nearby Battery Park. Human enterprise sprouts from the cracks and loopholes of bigness. In spite of the hierarchical statistics of priestly sociologists, the free spirit, like Odysseus the Odd Man, invents a way in or out, even if it must use humble disguise. Bigness and smallness are not mutually exclusive. Modern facilities have not changed human nature, the book notes, nor has corporate industry killed out independent enterprise. There are probably as many new specialty and craft shops as there are new discount houses, and they should be protected and encouraged.

THE second part of the volume presents four principles or conditions, based on observation, for fostering diversity in neighborhood life. Each city district must serve several primary purposes, not one, to "insure the presence of people who go outdoors on different schedules and are in the place for different purposes, but who are able to use many facilities in common." Most blocks must be short, to facilitate multiple uses. The district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition, and there must be a sufficient density of people, including people who live there. Each of these principles is enlarged upon in separate chapters.

Part Three deals in the light of actual human use with aspects of decay and regeneration in big cities, the forces of self-destruction arising from diversity, and considers the effect of "gradual money versus cataclysmic money" in renewal. The concluding part presents tactics for encouraging variety in city life, such as subsidized dwellings, considers the erosion of cities by automobiles, studies means of salvaging housing projects from the curse of dullness, the relation of government to planning and sums up the conception: cities pose "the problem of handling organized complexity."

The Death and Life of Great American Cities is the first book to seriously and comprehensively oppose current trends, to point out alternatives, to suggest a new course. One may differ with it, believing that the responsible forces at work to build and destroy are as manifold as the problems, but this book does not pose wholesale solutions — it states needs and points a direction. While its aims are laudable, the approach may seem too simple, even genial, in the face of vast and hostile social, economic and physical problems. But where is one to begin, if not with the actual human facts? Where others are bowing to mindless forces and generalizations, this book undertakes to fight, to take responsibility and thus to restore perspective. Is it biased? Yes, biased on behalf of human values. Is its program excessive, dangerous to future public housing and does it play into the hands of greedy private interests? Any idea slavishly followed is destructive; these ideas invite intelligent standards. In the place of paternalism, Jane Jacobs urges discussion and participation in determining what is to happen to a neighborhood by the people who live in it. Hers is the needed counterforce, the link that has been missing.

A century ago Walt Whitman wrote: "How beggarly appear arguments before a defiant deed! How the floridness of the materials of cities shrivels before a man's or a woman's look!" He asked: "Do you think a great city endures?", and he answered ". . . nothing endures but personal qualities."

This book is a defiant deed. It affirms the significance of personal qualities in the rebuilding of cities in our time. It attempts to embody, in practical form, the civil greatness of Whitman's vision. It succeeds.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

WHEN I reported here from London on Franco Zeffirelli's Old Vic production of *Romeo and Juliet* last June, I wrote far too captiously. Now that I have seen it again at the City Center I realize my error. I might excuse myself by suggesting that the production has improved, but it is much more probable that I have. The reader may learn from this never to trust any critic completely, and I may learn (what I already know) that a production of distinction must be seen more than once to be fully appreciated.

This is not to say that Zeffirelli's *Romeo* is flawless. There are areas of lyric sensibility which simply do not exist in it. What haunted me when I saw the play in London was the memory of a production of the play I attended in Moscow in 1935. It was one of the most consummate I had ever seen, taking its place with another Moscow (Jewish Chamber Theatre) production of *King Lear* which Gordon Craig told me at the time was the finest Shakespeare *he* had ever seen. But it is a critical sin to beat one fine achievement with another.

What is remarkable and almost unique about Zeffirelli's *Romeo* is that he has actually done it as a *play*! It is not a "revival," a reproduction, a replica of the whole Shakespearean repertory — which is what most Shakespearean productions look like. The new *Romeo* has its own individual character. It is really theatre — not an illustrated recital.

AS Zeffirelli directs it, *Romeo and Juliet* is a love story taking place in the streets and squares of a real Italian town: a story of a pair of kids, tender and boisterous, whose innocently violent ardor is drowned in bloody misadventure because they live in a world of wealthy hoodlums. Someone once said that the Middle Ages was a period of madrigals and dirty underclothes. The Renais-

Paul Goodman

offers some bold and challenging new horizons to Americans trapped by conformity, the Cold War and the organized system.

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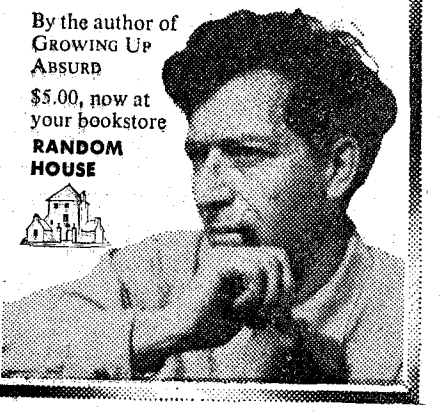

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sance of this *Romeo* is a time of effusive graces and gangster morality.

The production is boyishly virile, full of movement and specifically graphic. We always see (and enjoy seeing) what is going on, instead of merely hearing tell about it. Romeo and Juliet are leapingly ecstatic in their love or savagely miserable in their misfortune, as only adolescents can be. It is all immensely refreshing.

The play becomes smaller in this treatment than it formerly seemed — perhaps it is not after all a "great" tragedy — but is is sharply vital and gripping. The characters really contend with the situations in which they are enmeshed; they are not sick with Shakespearean verse.

Within the context of the director's interpretation, Joanna Dunham is most gratifying — the best Juliet in my experience. John Stride as Romeo is almost as successful, playing with impressive natural energy in his positive moments, puling and slobbering (though not self-pitying) when struck down by the idiocy of circumstance. Edward Atienza makes Mercutio a splendidly engaging bravo — something between a Teddy-boy and a wealthy hedonist. Michael Meacham's Tybalt is excellent too in its elegant sadism. All these people really seem to inhabit the gloomy colorfulness of the terra-cotta world of Zeffirelli's Verona.

MICHAEL REDGRAVE'S dramatization of Henry James's *The Aspern Papers* (Playhouse) may interest you, as it did me, for unlikely reasons.

As the play tells it, the plot is not inescapably absorbing; its theme, however, gives it a certain dimension. As in *The Heiress* (James's *Washington Square*), pride is the crux of the matter. In *The Aspern Papers* a spinsterlike lady believes she is being wooed for herself, whereas the man is simply playing up to her in order to acquire certain letters and diaries. As a literary scavenger, he desperately wants these in order to write about a dead poet whom he greatly admires and whom he believes he may be able to restore to his rightful place in American literature. But just as the girl in *The Heiress* turns down the fortune-hunting boy even though she loves him, because his interest in her money wounds her; so the lady in *The Aspern Papers* destroys the letters and diaries (which have no value or meaning for her) to punish the man for caring for them so much and for her not at all.

All this is revealed as if the play were a mystery melodrama and it is nice that such a device is employed where the object of search pertains to literature. On this level the play is weakened by the fact that the lady's hope of love is not made sufficiently clear till almost the end of the play. And while the play possesses a certain glamour — it takes place in a decrepit Venetian palazzo where lives the centenarian woman with whom the dead poet long ago had had an affair—neither the cast nor the director has been able to endow the atmosphere with enough richness or subtlety (as Henry James's prose could do) to enthrall us.

Still, the atmosphere is so unusual to our stage at present that we may find pleasure in allowing ourselves to dream and to recall a time when in quiet intensity people concerned themselves with delicate shades of sentiment in environments which somehow reflected their muted and exquisite sufferings.

I SPEAK of "dreaming." It is to the play's credit that I should have sensed still another facet of meaning in it. Perhaps deeper than the motif of injured pride is that aspect of the story which relates to Henry James himself. There was in his life and work (remember his *Beast in the Jungle*) an awareness of a basic inadequacy in regard to ordinary human passion. Perhaps *The Aspern Papers* is a parable in which we see how the neglect of the affective side of a man's nature on behalf of a purely professional (in this case literary) ambition so damages him that he is finally robbed of what he most values — those precious papers, symbol for the highest artistic accomplishment.

The best thing in the production of *The Aspern Papers* is Wendy Hiller's finely grained and truly styled portrayal of the frustrated Miss Tina. How beautifully Miss Hiller speaks, walks, stands; with what unobtrusive — I almost said secret — dignity and "line." One thinks of the ruined and murky mansions of

To Mallarmé

Poet of the Book, poet of the Page,
Poet of the deepening Blank,
Mallarmé, I hold your words
Like a bird in my hands.

Your pages open like wings
While the flight of the white bird
With speckled feathers —
Omen colored, sybil hued,

This bird, your bird, You —
Reveals a sky within me,
An azure of the senses
You alone assumed.

The hieroglyphics springing
To deciphering eyes
Are your nerve-endings
Delicately arranged —

Arrangement! Your inexhaustible concern:
Arranging your muscles for the leap of syllables,
Arranging your language
For the reverberation of song.

Often your impulse,
Born on lightest pulse
By the velvet buzz of Being,
Will range and rearrange

Then pause upon the Blank. . .

As light pauses on a rose
And sinks within. . .

Charles Boultenhouse

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Venice itself where the old stones and decay speak of a shadowed nobility.

Françoise Rosay as Miss Bordereau, Aspern's ancient flame, is markedly effective, not because she is the character James imagined or Redgrave hoped for, but because of a peasantlike power under the French actress' stage control. Redgrave himself, or someone as attractive, should have played the literary knave "H. J." (Henry Jarvis) to make Miss Tina's penchant for him more readily perceptible and telling. Maurice Evans is a very good actor in character roles (The Dauphin in *St. Joan*, Malvolio, Shotover in *Heartbreak House*), but he appears as uncomfortable here as a notably unmuscular man exposed to public view in tights.

Robert Hatch

IT IS no easy trick to construct an engaging musical on a theme of current social controversy. The ILGWU brought it off with *Pins and Needles* back in the dim thirties and now *Fly Blackbird* does it for the present generation. In both shows the recipe for success is the same: a book that relies on wit instead of preachment, exciting music and talented dancing, and a young, exuberant cast.

Fly Blackbird was written by C. Jackson and James Hatch, two members of the faculty of UCLA who were inspired to it, they say, by a West Coast speech of Martin Luther King, Jr. It must have been a rousing, funny speech. They wrote the whole thing — book, lyrics and music — but they have had the now-incalculable help of Jerome Eskow's staging, Talley Beatty's choreography and Gershon Kingsley's musical direction (he leads a three-man orchestra which, performing on two pianos, drums and a variety of xylophones, manages to sound like everything from a pit orchestra to a steam calliope). The cast, except for a few "character" parts, is very young and very good-looking; most of the performers are Negro, but there are a few whites (as friends or foes) and one Chinese boy of antic disposition and marvelously doleful expression.

The action takes place in New York — Washington Square and a nearby police station — which is wise, since today it would hardly be possible to stage a lark about integration against a Dixie backdrop. In essence, these young people are getting themselves up to the point of demonstrating and the show is about how they "educate" one another for the march South. They fight the "slow and careful" admonitions of their elders,

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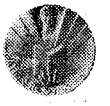

FICTION

JUDGES LEWIS GANNETT, HERBERT GOLD AND JEAN STAFFORD ARE CONSIDERING:

Hortense Calisher, *False Entry (Little, Brown)* / George P. Eliot, *Among the Dangs (Holt, Rinehart & Winston)* / Joseph Heller, *Catch-22 (Simon & Schuster)* / Bernard Malamud, *A New Life (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy)* / William Maxwell, *The Chateau (Knopf)* / Walker Percy, *The Movie Goer (Knopf)* / J. D. Salinger, *Franny and Zooey (Little, Brown)* / Isaac Singer, *The Spinoza of Market Street (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy)* / Edward Lewis Wallant, *The Pawnbroker (Harcourt, Brace & World)* / Joan Williams, *The Morning and the Evening (Atheneum)* / Richard Yates, *Revolutionary Road (Little, Brown)*

NON-FICTION

JUDGES LOREN EISELEY, AUGUST HECKSHER AND LOUIS B. WRIGHT ARE CONSIDERING:

Robert Ardrey, *African Genesis (Atheneum)* / James Baldwin, *Nobody Knows My Name (Dial)* / Stringfellow Barr, *The Will of Zeus (Lippincott)* / John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, *The Architecture of America (Little, Brown)* / Rene Dubos, *The Dreams of Reason (Columbia)* / Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities (Random House)* / Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez (Random House)* / Lewis Mumford, *The City in History (Harcourt, Brace & World)* / Virgilia Peterson, *A Matter of Life and Death (Atheneum)* / Mark Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life (McGraw-Hill)* / Elizabeth Stevenson, *Lafcadio Hearn (Macmillan)* / Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President (Atheneum)* / Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *John Bunyan (Macmillan)*

POETRY

JUDGES LEONIE ADAMS, MARK VAN DOREN AND WILLIAM JAY SMITH ARE CONSIDERING:

Robert Bagg, *Madonna of the Cello (Wesleyan)* / Philip Booth, *The Islanders (Viking)* / John Ciardi, *In the Stoneworks (Rutgers)* / H. D., *Helen in Egypt (Grove)* / Reuel Denney, *In Praise of Adam (Chicago)* / Alan Dugan, *Poems (Yale)* / Abbie Huston Evans, *Facts of Crystal (Harcourt, Brace & World)* / Isabella Gardner, *The Looking Glass (Chicago)* / Horace Gregory, *Medusa in Gramercy Park (Macmillan)* / John Holmes, *The Fortune Teller (Harper)* / Denise Levertov, *Jacob's Ladder (New Directions)* / Ned O'Gorman, *Adam Before His Mirror (Harcourt, Brace & World)* / John Hall Wheelock, *The Gardener and Other Poems (Scribner)*

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MUSIC

Benjamin Boretz

LISZT'S works are so easy to categorize in terms of their extrinsic qualities that his real significance as a composer is generally overlooked. The image of him as a flamboyant virtuoso, an extrovert Romantic, makes his music seem an art of pure dramatic gesture in which formal ideas are subordinate to indulgent self-expression. Even those who recognize his originality and influence usually emphasize his virtuosic piano style and his bold use of novel devices, without regard to the important compositional discoveries from which they arise.

This confusion is symptomatic of a general misunderstanding of nineteenth-century music. The red herrings of Romantic literary sensibility and the personal glamorization of the "artist" have made it difficult to follow the real development of musical thought in the period. But only by putting first things last can Liszt be regarded, as he often is, as the Paganini of the piano, or Berlioz as the Paganini of the orchestra (although it must be admitted that Paganini seems really to have been the Paganini of the violin).

It is possible, of course, that the attraction of such notions is in their very triviality and simplicity; real musical issues are usually quite complex, and certainly far less colorful. Unfortunately, though, the result of such facile misattributions is to make the weakest works the most popular. Thus Berlioz is principally admired for his Romantic passion and the vivid color and energy of his orchestration; therefore all the subtle music of his late period is neglected in favor of the perennial *Symphonie Fantastique*. But in later works, like *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Damnation of Faust*, one finds a structural concept of orchestration that departs from traditional procedure, and points directly to Mahler, Schönberg, Webern and beyond.

Liszt's music has had a posthumous career more like that of Verdi's. Despite, or perhaps because of, his great popular success, he was quickly dismissed by the academicians as a showy virtuoso pianist who composed music of abominable taste, just as Verdi was a composer of organ-grinder tunes. Then the snobs formed a cult around esoteric works that the public didn't like: in Liszt's case, the very last choral and piano music; in Verdi's, only *Otello* and *Falstaff*. Finally, in the 1920s, arose the anti-snob snobs who loved all the virtuoso — and organ-grinder — pieces precisely for their malodor with the other snobs, as a way of deriding what Milhaud used to call *le serieux à tout prix*.

A fresh look at what Liszt actually wrote invalidates such frivolities. One finds in his works the steady growth of an idea of musical structure that eventually resulted in a new kind of continuity. Even the early piano works, those supposedly trashy fantasies and transcriptions based on other music, are full of remarkable insights into formal processes. In the transcription of Beethoven's song *Adelaide*, for example, the alternate separation and joining of the piano and vocal lines of the original, and the apparently free changes in register that spread the "voice" over a four-octave range, make, in effect, a new composition that still retains the shape and essence of its model. The pianistic elaborations on Beethoven's accompaniments (which expand progressively as a kind of counterpoint to the arching rise and fall of the main line) and the interpolated cadenza are beautiful and carefully worked out commentaries on the style and progression of the original.

LISZT is usually forgiven the transcriptions of orchestral works on the grounds that he thereby made them available to the public, and that his "orchestration" of the piano was a brilliant extension of its technical resources, made possible by his profound understanding of its nature. On the other hand, these pieces demonstrate an equally profound knowledge of the orchestra and of the importance of spacings and registers in the articulation of orchestral music. In the transcriptions of sections from Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the waltzes from Gounod's *Faust*, one also discovers Liszt's ability to improve on the works of other composers, as Bach did with Vivaldi. In the Gounod, especially, the original is quite overshadowed by the reconstitution; Liszt's transitions are brilliantly conceived and managed, and he gets more textural variation from the

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piano than Gounod was able to draw from a full orchestra (one section foreshadows the lean, arpeggiated piano style of Stravinsky). The *Midsummer Night's Dream*, too, emerges as a kind of super-Mendelssohn, retaining the graceful polish of the original (including a wonderful evocation of woodwind and string sonorities), but adding a new connective strength. The juxtaposition of the Wedding March and the Elfin Chorus at the end is a typical virtuoso trick, but extraordinarily well done.

By the time of the unfinished *Figaro* fantasy (completed by Busoni in 1912), Liszt's idea of formal unity was to discover interior relationships between successive ideas. Thus the fantasy begins with a long introduction based on a single interval (minor third) that is important in both the Mozart arias on which the piece is based: *Non piu andrai* (where it occurs at the opening), and *Voi che sapete* (on *donne, vedete*). Later, Liszt develops the opening rhythm of the former, which also appears in *Voi che sapete* as the words (*che*) *cosa e a*(*mor*), isolating the elements of similitude as the basis for his structure. As a whole, it must be admitted that the Fantasy is a failure; Mozart's idiom cannot bear the strenuous load of chromatic sequences. But its failure is itself an indication of the extent of Liszt's departure from the modes of progression that were relevant to Mozart.

CONSIDERING all the other misconceptions surrounding Liszt, it seems just that the form in which his continuity was finally realized is the one generally regarded as the ultimate in musico-literary license: the "programmatic" symphonic poem. If Liszt was not completely aware of the implications of his own technique, then perhaps the idea of creating a "free" form based on literary ideas that had no musical equivalents forced him to evolve a consistent language that would function outside the context of traditional style. At any rate, his solution was to adopt a formal procedure based on the unity of melodic cells, from which every aspect of the structure was eventually generated. In the earlier symphonic poems, *Tasso* and *Les Preludes*, this takes the form of "thematic transformation" — rhetorical themes of strongly contrasting character, all formed from the opening idea, develop like a set of free variations. In later works, the motivic technique is extended to harmony and tonality as well, creating series of formal blocks that depend for coherence more and more on principles derived from the materials themselves, rather than from the "common practice" of the diatonic tonal system.

In *Orpheus*, these thematic and harmonic transformations are so self-enclosed that the texture seems to remain immobile. The opening moments are built entirely around a single sustained note, elaborated by arpeggiated harp chords. From this point, everything moves in even strides, more like undulations from a still center than like linear or dynamic progression. One recalls Stravinsky's *Orpheus*, with its similar evenness, immobility and instrumental coloration; the rather wonderful Liszt might well have been its model.

LISZT'S best works are his two long symphonies developed from the form of the symphonic poem: the *Dante* and the *Faust* Symphonies. The tendencies toward present-day musical style can be observed in Liszt's music as early as the first *Harmonies Poetiques et Religieuses*, written when he was twenty-two; but these two later works seem already over the threshold of the twentieth century. Both the "Inferno" and the "Purgatorio" of the *Dante* Symphony are completely formed from self-contained principles and, despite their tonal framework, may actually be considered essentially atonal. It is astonishing to discover such clear and early evidence that the forms later adopted by Schönberg for atonal works like *Pierrot Lunaire* really grew out of a natural development within tonal music itself. Even Schönberg's method of creating harmony by combining identical melodic motives is anticipated by Liszt in the *Inferno*. The compression of this style builds a powerful dramatic tension without ever resorting to external gesture or rhetoric.

The "Purgatorio" creates the impression that time is suspended. In contrast to the condensation and forcefulness of the "Inferno," "Purgatorio" unfolds its few elements slowly and repetitiously, evoking an image of stillness and gravity. The final section is a fantastic fugue, whose asymmetry must have made it seem incomprehensible at the time. In the last movement of the symphony, a choral Magnificat, all the materials are transformed; ideas that appeared in chromatic form become modal, in imitation of the style of Renaissance polyphony. The delicate scoring and spacing counterbalance the sharpness of the "Inferno" and the *doleur* of the "Purgatorio." The final resolution of the form is consistent and deeply impressive.

WESTMINSTER'S idea of issuing a number of Liszt works in an integral series commemorating the 150th anniversity of his birth was an obviously good one, but the Hungarian State orchestra that performs on two of the four records is not up to professional standards, especially in the Symphonic Poems. Some of their attacks are so ragged that half the orchestra is left behind when chords change; the *Mephisto Waltz* is painfully unarticulated, as though it had been all rewritten in even notes. Dynamics are mostly mezzo-forte, and the orchestral sound is all fuzz. Fortunately, the *Dante* Symphony, performed by the Budapest Philharmonic, is much clearer and better, and can be recommended.

Egon Petri's disk, however, is entirely treasurable. Although he was eighty years old when he made this recording, his mastery as a Liszt performer is still evident. It is wonderful to hear the clarity with which he projects underlying rhythmic movement; the treacherous figurations are never allowed to invade the foreground as they do with most pianists. Of course, Petri drops notes; occasionally, as a concession to his age, he slows the pace for a difficult passage. But except for the

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(*Continued from page 196*)

buildings might have taken the two of us years to complete.

HODGKINS: Who scheduled you two birds?

WOODROW: I've had enough of this.

MELLER: Not so fast, Gentlemen. Any signs of other life, Tom?

TOM: If you don't mind, sir, I'd like to reply to the other Senators. We took the precaution to document our trip, fully expecting to be questioned as we have been by some here today, though not by you, sir. Photographs of the buildings, samples of the soil, if you can call it that, p.d., sulphur, and so on —actually very little else.

HODGKINS: (*rapping*): Quiet!

TOM: Now, sir, to your question. Yes, as you *might* expect if you keep up with developments in the interstellar field, there were signs of other life on the moon.

HODGKINS: (*rapping*): Here! Here! Order! Order!

MELLER: Pray, continue, Tom.

TOM: With your kind permission, sir. Signs of other life, yes, and more than signs.

HODGKINS: (*rapping*): Sergeant, do your duty. Order! Order! Order!

MELLER: You mean *they* are there?

TOM: Yes, sir.

MELLER: You saw them, Tom?

TOM: Yes, sir, and so did Hap.

HAPPY: Yes, sir.

TOM: In great numbers, sir. In very great numbers. They did not see us, but we saw them.

MELLER: What were they doing, Tom?

TOM: Why, constructing buildings with pumice dust, sir.

MELLER: How many buildings would you say they have?

TOM: Well, sir, when we left they had the beginnings of only one. Doubtless they ran into the same trouble we did at first, but, like us, they overcame that trouble. How many buildings they have now—with *their* program—I could not say. If I could, sir, I would not care to say in such a public place as this.

CYNICAL REPORTER: Well, I'll be darned!

HODGKINS: (*seeing a man trying to slink out*): Stop that man!

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Oh, no, you don't!

MAN: *Chort vozmi!* ["Devil take it!"]

HODGKINS: (*seeing another man trying to slink out*): Stop *that* man!

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Oh, no, you don't!

MAN: *Liao pu teh!* ["What's to be done?"]

HODGKINS: Lock the doors! Lock the doors!

MELLER: (*presently*): Well, Gentlemen? What do you say now?

HODGKINS: My hat's off to you, young man.

TOM: Thank you, sir.

HODGKINS: And to you, too, young man.

HAPPY: Thank you, sir.

WOODROW: Same here to both of you.

MELLER: You see, Tom and Hap, they really aren't so bad. Whatever our party differences, we never fail to close ranks when threatened from without. What *we* have to do now is get that little machine of *yours* into production, Hap.

HODGKINS: And put a million men on the moon constructing buildings with pumice dust.

WOODROW: Two million.

MELLER: Three.

HODGKINS: I still don't know who scheduled you young men.

TOM: You haven't heard *all* we have to say, sir.

HAPPY: What Tom means, sir, is that he'd like your daughter's hand in marriage.

TOM: (*to Senator Woodrow*): And what Hap means, sir, is that he'd like *your* daughter's hand in marriage.

HODGKINS: You mean it was Nancy who scheduled you, Tom?

TOM: Yes, sir.

WOODROW: And it was Sophie who scheduled you, Hap?

HAPPY: Yes, sir.

HODGKINS: Well, in that case, I don't see why not.

WOODROW: I'll go along with that.

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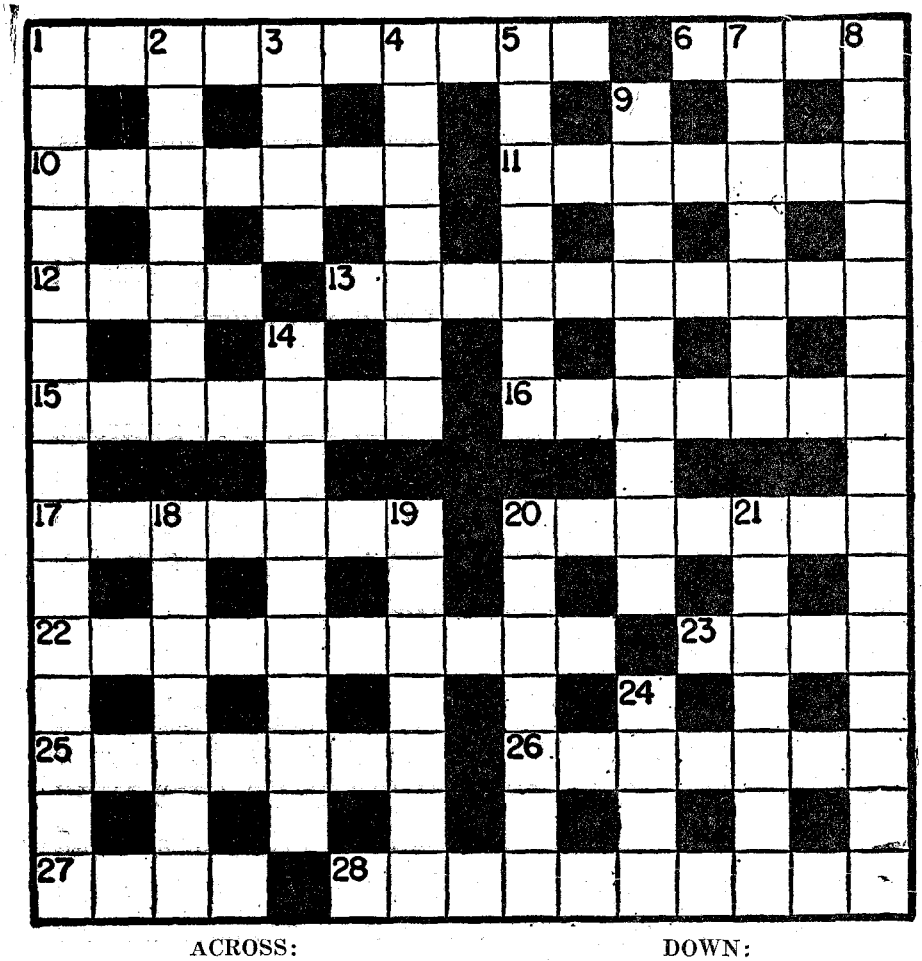
Crossword Puzzle No. 952

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Well-known bet, cleared by arrangement. (10)
6 The unemployed are never referred to this way. (4)
10 and 11 For example, he sticks to any decisions made. (14)
12 Evidently I didn't pass the same thing. (4)
13 What a critic might have done to Act I, staged and produced so poorly. (10)
15 They might be bald, even though young. (7)
16 A unicorn should prove only half so troublesome. (7)
17 Does it have a balmy connotation? (7)
20 Caustic bunch of damn rot. (7)
22 They periodically do this to first-termers. (10)
23 It may be unpleasant to find no candy bar for this! (4)
25 The old settlers sound rather wise. (7)
26 and 3 What the near-sighted do to their eyes when reading to presage punishment? (5, 2, 4)
27 In the Orient, a sort of 15 with the damaged limb amputated. (4)
28 They might be cast in the role of such as Cyrus, by the sound of them. (10)

DOWN:

1 A hearing granted the prisoners? (7, 8)
2 and 18 On reflection, these shouldn't quite be lorgnettes. (7, 7)
3 See 26 across
4 Books of flowers? (7)
5 Formerly mentioned as being in a state, as they say. (7)
7 The old inner one had a squeak connected with it. (7)
8 Going back to deuce might be. (15)
9 Did they once run with a great deal of spirit? (9)
14 Plucked by Holmes' harpies? (3, 6)
18 See 2 down
19 Parry might follow such as are given by lox. (7)
20 Cur, well-suited, but susceptible to change. (7)
21 Fast, rather than Milton, might suggest such a description. (7)
24 Helps to mend the head of 8. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 951

ACROSS: 1 Quarter-deck; 9 Wets; 10 Nocks; 12 Heretic; 13 Cattail; 15 By stages; 16 Dubbed; 18 and 11 Object ball; 21 Gargoyle; 24 Rambled; 26 Pudding; 28 Eddy; 29 Rumba; 30 Heed; 31 But me no buts. DOWN: 2 Unsheathe; 3 and 19 Running boards; 4 Each; 5 Discard; 6 Cabot; 7 Celery; 8 Sluice; 14 Usage; 17 Bloodshot; 20 Theorem; 22 Rhubarb; 23 Landed; 25 Bayou; 27 Omen.

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